

In fact

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For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

April 7, 1941 George Seldes, Editor; Robert Terrall, Assoc. Ed.

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E I DuPont Hits the Bricks

A MINOR production executive in E I DuPont (chemicals, munitions), whose reliability is known to IN FACT, supplies the following amazing information:

A field representative from the center of the DuPont empire in Wilmington has for the last two weeks been travelling about the US calling meetings of DuPont executives in each territory. At these meetings he explains that the major US industries have agreed to curtail production for two months "to break the back of organized labor." Industry's strategy is to blame labor for the decline in production, preparing the ground for drastic anti-labor legislation at the end of May, one year after the adoption of similar legislation in England. Meanwhile the two-month period will be used to condition the plants for intensive production undisturbed by the necessity for collective bargaining. The DuPont representative, for obvious reasons, did not put these instructions in writing. At the meeting attended by IN FACT's informant, he concluded: "If we succeed, we're going to make millions out of this."

US industry has gone on strike before, and it has usually gained its ends. There is evidence that big business cut production in 1937 in protest against the excess profits tax. Big business struck last summer to secure modifications in laws providing profit limitation on government contracts, as Monograph 26 showed.

Halifax, Churchill on India

LORD HALIFAX, with considerable effort, last week produced the following war aim:

"We are wont to say that we are fighting for freedom and for democracy." He then defined "these large words" in a vague way which hardly justified the NY Times headline, BRITAIN'S WAR AIM IS FREEDOM FOR ALL, HALIFAX DECLARES.

A few days earlier the Institute for Propaganda Analysis published a report on the dilemma of British propaganda: if the British announce liberal war aims they will alienate American big business, and if they announce conservative war aims they will alienate American labor.

All his life Churchill has been a volatile public servant, and some of his utterances, in the light of his present role as defender of freedom and democracy, are embarrassing. He made many speeches about India while Lord Halifax, who at that time went by the name of Lord Irwin, was Viceroy.

On Dominion Status for India ("The British Commonwealth," said Halifax March 25, 1941, "has grown in an atmosphere of freedom and has developed the principle and practice of self-government") Churchill said Jan 26, 1931: "Of course we have always contemplated it as an ultimate goal but no one has supposed that, except in a purely ceremoni-

Delegates to American Peoples Meeting in NY

Find Press as Usual Opposed to People

AS THIS issue of IN FACT went to press, the city desks of NY newspapers had already begun their campaign of slander against the American Peoples Meeting, scheduled to meet in NY the weekend of April 5 and 6. Roy Howard's World-Telegram and Hearst's Journal-American put their leading trigger-men on the assignment, and editorials were already beginning to appear. From the first indications it was clear that the campaign would be the same as that which preceded the American Peace Mobilization's first national meeting last Labor Day in Chicago: an effort to distract attention from the APM's program by calling its leaders names.

In the cloud of lies and deliberate obfuscation surrounding the American Peoples Meeting, IN FACT calls attention to the following facts:

1) The 8500 delegates, far from being "hand-picked" as was asserted over the air by Walter Winchell, represent bona fide organizations with a membership of many millions. Neighborhood delegates have been elected by neighborhood meetings, each delegate representing 100 people. Union delegates have been elected openly at union meetings.

2) The APM program, unlike the program of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and similar interventionist groups, is a matter of public record. The APM is for keeping out of the war and at the same time for strengthening democracy in the US. The 25 delegates from Alabama share-croppers, the 40 delegates from the Allis-Chalmers strike, the 10 delegates from Nebraska farmers do not need to be urged to fight for democracy. The APM is the first peace movement in US history to represent organized labor: two of its vice chairmen are vice presidents of the CIO, and a dozen CIO unions, two dozen Industrial Union Councils and hundreds of AFL and CIO locals will be officially represented at the meeting.

3) The APM is endorsed by many youth leaders, farm groups and clergymen. Its chairman, Rev John B Thompson, is a Presbyterian minister from Norman, Okla. There are 4000 APM neighborhood peace councils. The APM is a growing movement which has not been panicked into support of wage-cuts, strike-breaking and abandonment of the Bill of Rights under the guise of a war for freedom and democracy.

The APM Meets Obstacles

Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, accepted the APM's invitation to be fraternal delegate from the British Peoples Convention. The British government denied him an exit visa. Meanwhile, on Mar 22 the Pan-American clipper disgorged the following fraternal delegates from British business to US business: Lewelyn Ward of the British Purchasing Commission, Robert J Berry, London representative of Internat'l Tel and Tel, Sir Firoz Noon, Charles J J M Welter, the daughter and three grandchildren of Sir Frederick Keeble, and 16 others.

State delegates planned to illustrate the nation-wide character of the APM by carrying placards bearing state mottoes. The NY Park Commission, which has jurisdiction over Randall's Island stadium where the main meeting was to be held, banned the mottoes as "immoral, obscene and libelous." Some of the banned mottoes: "Liberty and Independence" (Delaware); "The People Rule" (Arkansas); "The Welfare of the People Shall Be the Supreme Law" (Missouri); "Labor Conquers All" (Oklahoma).

Action by Roosevelt, Knudsen and Knox Called "Strikebreaking" and "Fascism" by Labor Leaders

FROM ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO AMERICAN FASCISTS:

"All that serves labor serves the nation. All that harms labor is treason to America. No line can be drawn between these two."

"If any man tells you he loves America, yet hates labor, he is a liar. If any man tells you he trusts America, yet fears labor, he is a fool. There is no America without labor, and to fleece the one is to rob the other." (Submitted by the Rev. Don West.)

"Thank God we have a country where working men have the right to strike."

On March 27 the headlines in America's press read: "U S ORDERS ALLIS PLANT REOPENED." The all-out-for-Roosevelt newspaper PM admitted (Mar 27, page

19) that "Mr Knudsen and Mr Knox . . . had the approval of President Roosevelt." Thus news events confirmed the worst fears of labor leaders, both AFL and CIO, that the president was uniting with other powerful forces in the present hysterical anti-labor campaign.

IN FACT reported (Nov 18) that John L Lewis told American Labor Party leaders immediately after Roosevelt was elected that he was convinced both FDR and Willkie planned to bring about wartime fascism of the so-called "democratic" type of present-day England or Daladier-France; the only difference, according to Lewis, was that Willkie's election would have meant a 3-month breathing spell in which the CIO could cement its ranks. "Now," continued IN FACT, reporting to its readers the words of Labor Party men who were at the meeting, "CIO heads believe that Roosevelt will try to knock the unions out of the defense industries—and practically everything is defense nowadays."

Today labor leaders are referring to the orders from the Administration to Allis-Chalmers men to return to work (when labor had agreed to negotiate, and the corporation had not) as "strikebreaking" and "fascism."

Is Gov't Following 1917 Strikebreaking Pattern?

In 1917 President Wilson set up the National War Labor Board which remained in office long after the World War was over and which acted as an enemy of the labor movement. In 1917 there was a strike of machinists in Bridgeport, Conn., which Wilson broke with the following ultimatum:

"I desire you to return to work. . . . If you refuse, each of you will be barred from employment in any war industry in the community in which the strike occurs for a period of one year. During that time the U S Employment Service will decline to obtain employment for you in any war industry elsewhere in the U S, as well as under the War and Navy Dep'ts, the Shipping Board, the Railroad Administration and all other gov't agencies, and the draft boards will be instructed to reject any claim of exemption based on your alleged usefulness on war production."

Officially the Wilson board had no more power than the Roosevelt National Defense Mediation Board established Mar 19. Actually the Wilson board destroyed labor's rights. Labor was promised not only full restoration of its rights, but part ownership in industry, industrial democracy, ten times more than any New Deal (See World Panorama, Ch. 3). Since nothing materialized in 1919 but injunctions and the use of national guards to smash unionism, large sections of labor no longer believe in promises.

The Knudsen-Knox order (with the approval of the President) was denounced by President Murray of the CIO as an "ultimatum." "By what power," Murray telegraphed Knudsen, "are you and Sec'y Knox authorized to issue ultimatums when provisions are already made . . . for the orderly adjudication of such disputes . . . ?" New York labor leaders called the government action not only official strikebreaking but fascism.

"Newspaper Excitement Unwarranted"—Knox

In the Mar 24 issue IN FACT told how Knudsen came out against laws curbing labor Feb 19 and reversed himself the 28th; how Roosevelt Mar 4 criticized the press for exaggerating the labor strike situation, since only 1/400th of defense industry was affected, he said, quoting Labor Board figures. On Mar 7 Roosevelt reversed himself.

Now that Secretary of Navy Knox (one of America's leading publishers) has joined FDR and Knudsen in what the CIO calls strikebreaking, it is interesting to recall Knox's testimony before House Committee on navy appropriations:

Mr (J G) Scrugham (Nev): Are there any material or labor problems which continue to be a hindrance or which promise to be a hindrance to the program of the Navy?

Sec'y Knox: I have contact with that, both as a member of the Cabinet and as a member of the OPM, where the question of labor has been very much to the fore, and in answer I would say that much of this agitation and excitement in the newspapers on that subject is utterly unwarranted. There has been some disturbance in the labor field, but, measured in terms of men out of employment due to strikes, it is negligible. Out of something like 45,000,000 workers, something like 15,000 or 16,000 are out of work due to strikes. There are far fewer strikes than we had a year ago, and they are but a small fraction of what we had in 1917. . . . (Navy Dep't Appropriations Bill for 1942, page 5, released to press March 13.)

War Hysteria in Congress and Legislatures

The Oklahoma senate has passed a bill making it a penitentiary offense for an organizer to ask a man working in a defense factory to join a union. In Texas the House voted to curb strikes, to make it a felony to prevent a man from going to work, i.e., a man could assault a peaceful picket and answer only for a misdemeanor but if the picket defended himself he would commit a felony.

In a dozen states laws with patriotic wording said to be aimed against sabotage, force and violence, have been denounced by labor unions as hidden attempts to destroy the rights of labor. The American Civil Liberties Union reported (Mar 17) that anti-sabotage legislation, home-guards bills, proposed "subversive activities" committees patterned after the Dies Committee, Rapp-Coudert committee in NY or Yorty committee in California, are a menace to the civil rights of Americans. "Through its local committees the Union is urging the defeat of all such bills."

Speaking for the CIO Thomas Kennedy, United Mine Workers sec'y-treasurer, said that American Tories are planning anti-labor laws in the name of defense, that these people demanded such a step "long before we embarked on our defense

ous sense in the way in which representatives of India attended conferences during the war, that principle and policy for India would be carried into effect in any time which it is reasonable or useful for us to foresee."

Jan 30, 1931: "We ought to begin now by making it perfectly clear that we intend to remain the effective rulers of India in every essential for a very long and indefinite period."

Dec 12, 1930: "We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the King, which more than all other Dominions and Dependencies constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."

April 29, 1932: "I do not believe the people will consent to be edged, pushed, talked and cozened out of India. No nation of which I am aware, great or small, has ever voluntarily or tamely suffered such a harsh abnegation of its rights."

Dec 12, 1930: "The truth is that Gandhi-ism and all it stands for will, sooner or later, have to be grappled with and finally crushed. It is no use trying to satisfy a tiger by feeding him with cat's meat."

Jan 30, 1931: "This Viceroy, who meant so well and tried so hard, has had to enact more repressive measures and inflict more punishments and make greater curtailments of liberty and imprison more thousands of people than has ever happened before in India." Here Churchill is referring to the fact that Halifax found it necessary to jail between 80,000 and 100,000 persons for asking for democratic rights.

Most pertinent of these quotations, selected by IN FACT from the collected volumes of Churchill's speeches, is this frank opinion of democracy: "The Indian Congress and other elements in this agitation represent neither the numbers, the strength nor the virtue of the Indian people. They merely represent those Indians who have acquired a veneer of Western civilization, and have read all those books about democracy which Europe is now beginning increasingly to discard."

Halifax's Good Will Tour

LORD HALIFAX's sightseeing tour of NY was meticulously reported in the NY press. The Times noted that he had lunch at the NY Times with Mr Arthur Hays Sulzberger and members of the staff, and dined with Mr and Mrs Ogden Reid, publisher of the NY Herald Tribune. Mention of this was modestly omitted in the Tribune.

News from India

ARRESTS of nationalists continue in India and have been protested by the National Council for Civil Liberties of London, which insists on liberation of all political prisoners.

The following correction has been sent IN FACT: Britain's total investment in India is \$7,800,000,000; the annual profit which goes to British Tories is about \$900,000,000. There are about 40,000,000 unemployed agricultural workers. The Halis who slave an average of 12 years for debt are paid 4½ annas or 9¢ a year. Sir James Grigg, finance member of the Gov't of India, estimated that the average per capita income in India today is from a penny to a penny and a quarter a day.

The Common Herd

JAMAICA, said British commentator

Sidney Moseley over WMCA (March 12, 1 pm) will elect a governor instead of having one appointed; he predicted many more democratic actions by Britain, and added:

"Appointment to public office, which used to be the privilege of the favored few, will now be open to the herd—the common herd, as they used to be called."

Numerous physician-readers have asked about IN FACT's statement Jan 27, that "70% of Jamaica's million people react positively to tuberculosis tests." This was an indirect quotation from the British Royal Commission's report. IN FACT thanks the West Indies National Council and Dr. Alexander Winter for forwarding the NY Tuberculosis and Health Ass'n reports. There is more tuberculosis in Puerto Rico proportionally than Jamaica, statistics show.

Big Debate About Profits

LAST week the financial pages of the NY Times and Herald Tribune differed sharply about the extent to which the 1940 profits of Curtiss-Wright Corp had increased over 1939. HT said: CURTISS-WRIGHT PROFIT UP 200% TO \$15,746,847. Times, which insists on accuracy in financial matters, figured it out independently and concluded that the increase was only 199%.

Henry Ford Hedges

HENRY FORD, whose famous Nazi medal is a headache to dealers who have to sell his cars, last summer refused to manufacture Rolls-Royce airplane engines for England. Since then the CIO has organized the bulk of his employees and news from Detroit is that this time no beatings, intimidation or corruption can keep Henry Ford from having to recognize a union. As the CIO drive proceeded Ford took full page ads to explain his opposition. When he was dedicating a new Navy Service School at his River Rouge plant, which will give three months mechanical training to naval recruits (not at union wages) he said, "During this crisis our organization wants to do everything possible to help America and the President."

The fact that some newspapers still questioned his patriotism worried the Ford strategists, who were preparing for a showdown with the CIO. So the Detroit bureau of the United Press, which has always been subservient to the auto companies, issued a story which the NY World-Telegram headed "HIS BETTER PLANE MOTOR LED FORD TO REJECT BRITISH ORDER, AID SAYS." The belated nature of this cock-and-bull story was lamely explained by the anonymous Ford official: "Mr Ford was hesitant to disclose his side of the story at the time, because he did not want to dis-

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program. In other words, certain people and groups who have had their knives out for labor for a long time are now plying their same anti-labor stock-in-trade under a false banner of patriotism."

The worst wartime hysteria of all hit the House of Representatives Mar 27 when Rep Sumners, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, suggested the electrocution of enemies of the defense program. He was speaking of strikers. Sumners brought out old falsehoods about France. The documentary evidence is now available to all, including Congressmen, that the French bankers and 200 Families betrayed France to Hitler, and that the defense program spurted under the Popular Front.

The present war hysteria in which governors and mayors are availing themselves of police and militia to assault labor is another illustration in fact of the dry statistics filed after every election showing contributions by corporations to the Republican and Democratic Parties. In every instance it has been proved that it is not the \$1 contributions but the big money, from the DuPonts, Rockefellers, and Pews with up to a million dollar contributions, down to the \$5,000 contributions from other corporation heads, which make up the bulk of vote-getting kitties. On only a few historic occasions in history (once in Minneapolis; once by Murphy in Michigan, once by Earle in Pennsylvania) were the National Guards used to protect labor. In hundreds of instances Guards, militia, police, have been used to provoke violence and to use violence against labor. (The ACLU has documentary proof of this statement.) It is not only an inference but a historical truth that corporations donate the money for political campaigns and elected politicians repay the corporations in many ways including use of the militia.

Strongest Strikebreaking Force: The Press

However, there is also proof that the press (which TNEC monograph 26 shows is an instrument of business) is the main strikebreaker. "The daily press," declared Jerome D Barnum when president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, "has more power in the shaping of public opinion than any other force in America." This is generally conceded.

The Times and thousands of other papers say public opinion makes or breaks strikes; public opinion usually wins. NYD News said, "Strikes which fail to win the endorsement of public opinion . . . seldom win." Newsweekly Time said, "Public opinion, without the support of which no major strike is ever won. . . ." By public opinion is meant the power which creates it, the newspaper.

To which Heywood Broun wrote the final word: "We have an interest and a right to know what a newspaper owner prints and what he throws away;—what stories he puts on the front page and those which he buries deep inside, and why.

"The making of a modern newspaper is Big Business. Big Business does not want to see the growth of trade unionism. . . .

"The American newspaper is the first line of defense of Big Business.

"Newspapers break more strikes than the National Guard or company police. . . ."

Confession of a New York Reporter

Following our expose of the New York press coverage of the bus strike, and especially the fact that about a million New Yorkers will no longer trust the commercial dailies as a result, IN FACT has received the following statement for publication from one of the labor reporters who wrote the strike story for one of the corrupt dailies. (We have name and address and name of newspaper.) This reporter writes:

"I am a working NY newspaperman, author of one of the anti-labor quotations concerning the TWU strike noted by In Fact Mar 24 issue... I, like so many other newspapermen, was forced to write these dishonest slanders on the strikers because of policy dictated orders from the lying, anti-labor management of my own paper.

"I feel that we who work at the news and who are forced in order to retain our jobs to concoct such falsehoods, should in other ways dissociate ourselves from our professional prostitution. I am giving my name and documentation to In Fact... I suggest that newsmen on all the anti-labor publications in NY furnish In Fact with similar instances to prove that the press does not reflect the beliefs of its own employees; and to expose from within the treachery and corruption of the American press."

This reporter's documentation shows that he himself did not write the falsehood and anti-labor poison appearing in the news stories. The lines were inserted by a brasscheck editor.

The NY Times Invents a New Type of Suppression

Hundreds of readers have already congratulated IN FACT for printing the most important parts of Monograph 26 of the Temporary National Economic Committee (Monopoly Investigation); many consider it the most important item in IN FACT next to the suppressed Kennedy report. Monograph 26 said in plain English that Big Business, represented by the National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce, employing the Bar Association and the American Newspaper Publishers Association, controlled America, ran the country for its own profit and ownership. IN FACT also gave the evidence that the American press (with a usual margin of 2 or 3% as exceptions) has either suppressed or buried alive sensational reports of the Monopoly Investigation.

The most curious case is that of America's leading newspaper, the NY Times. This paper actually published a whole column on Monograph 26 under the heading: "TNEC URGES BOARD FOR LOBBY CONTROL." It did not mention the National

Association of Manufacturers. It mentioned the Bar Association as "the special pleader for business" and suppressed the next lines which added the Publishers Association. Every line of the report showing that the press and advertising are subservient to Big Business was suppressed, although these very lines were picked out in *Editor & Publisher* as significant.

The Times suppressed the one big story in the report: the documented fact that Big Business (aided by the press) works against the general welfare of the American people, and against American democracy.

In the past 11 months *IN FACT* has given evidence almost in every issue of suppression, distortion, or burial of news in the Times. There is no intention here to single out this paper for criticism. The Times suffers the penalty of greatness. It is generally conceded to be the most powerful and important newspaper in the US and criticism of the Times infers criticism of the entire press. *IN FACT* has shown that on many occasions certain items are suppressed, certain items are buried in the Times. The TNEC report shows a third technique in not telling America the news: here we had a full column Times report, prominently published, giving unimportant facts and suppressing the real story. The only defense the Times can possibly offer is that its Washington staff is so incompetent it does not know news.

The Times Against Investigations

Historically the Times has been against all investigations which aimed to serve the American people. It usually begins by ridiculing the Congressional committee and ends by minimizing its findings. It did its best to laugh the Teapot Dome scandal to death; it ridiculed the utilities investigation which incidentally discovered an item or two about the Times which was not to its credit; and when the Nye-Vandenberg munitions committee concluded that the bankers, led by J P Morgan, were more responsible than any other element in bringing America into the war, the Times published a story whitewashing Morgan and was asked to retract it by Nye.

Now the TNEC reports constitute one of the greatest indictments of the business civilization under which we live. They are written by conservatives and released by a Senate committee which no one can accuse of radicalism. But as written and published they contain the documentary evidence which should have been a bombshell in conservative quarters—if the press had published it. But the press did exactly what Monograph 26 said it does: it worked for Big Business, rather than the welfare of the public, and it suppressed or buried the report.

A Times editorial (Mar 13) said of TNEC: "But what it has accomplished of a constructive nature in all this period is highly doubtful. . . . The TNEC . . . had a rare opportunity to study how the extremely complex problems of monopoly and competition should be dealt with legally. Instead of doing this it wandered all over the economic lot, taking up whatever question happened to interest one of its members or some New Deal economist . . . the net contribution . . . has been deeply disappointing." In its weekly review (Mar 16) the Times added: "Some thought that the committee wandered far afield. . . . Another opinion was summed up in a comment made at the end of the first public session: 'Important but very dull.'"

Business Threatens Foundations of Gov't

IN FACT has discovered a most important typographical error in Monograph 26 (written by Donald Blaisdell and Jane Greverus). On page 173 the word unwilling appears as willing. The paragraph is a sort of key to the report. This has been confirmed by Mr Blaisdell. The paragraph should read:

"The situation which confronted our Government in 1917 when we entered the World War and which confronts it now, constitute the dilemma of democratic government. Government depends upon capitalist business for the means of defending its existence. Business apparently is not unwilling to threaten the very foundations of government in fixing the terms on which it will work. It is in such a situation that the question arises: What price patriotism?"

The report supports the evidence of labor leaders who claim that today as in 1917 the big business interests sabotaged the defense program while they held out for profits, and that business, rather than labor, is to blame for delay.



THIS COULD BE YOU

These days the press works overtime putting horns, hooves and tails on workers who are striking for better wages and union conditions. Public opinion isn't born, it's made. And since 98% of the newspapers aren't friendly to labor, you don't need a crystal ball to know what the press will say and do to influence public opinion.

That's why it's so important to get *IN FACT* around. The bigger our circulation the faster we can put those horns, hooves and tails where they rightfully belong—on the unfair commercial press. For every four new 50¢ subscriptions that you send in at one time you will receive a copy of *YOU CAN'T DO THAT* by George Seldes. *YOU CAN'T DO THAT* is a 300-page book on violation of civil liberties in the US. It names names, dates and places and is fully documented.

credit the Rolls engine, which is manufactured in one of his plants in England, the official said: "So far as was evident last week, the new campaign to sell Ford to the public had not altered the popular opinion of him as the country's leading anti-Semite, pro-fascist, enemy of labor.

Trial Balloon

THE Associated Press March 13 launched a trial balloon to oblige "Congressional fiscal experts." According to AP, the experts, "casting about for new revenue sources to help pay for the \$7,000,000,000 British-aid program, were reported considering today the possibility of imposing a 5% tax on the weekly pay of most of the nation's workers."

The NY Herald Tribune interrupted this dispatch to append this statement in parenthesis, known to newspapers as a "shirt-tail":

("This plan is said to be similar to that in use in Germany.")

Press as Labor's Enemy

FROM all parts of America comes confirmation of *IN FACT*'s reports that the commercial or standard press is labor's enemy, especially in strike time.

The Ohio Industrial Union Council, CIO, through sec'y-treas Ted F Silvey, in requesting fairness from Ohio newspapers, wrote them:

"Publishers of daily newspapers are among the vigorous opponents of organized labor."

"They control a powerful medium of public information, which they use to promulgate their own economic and political ideas, at the same time they curtail and suppress news of things they personally do not like."

"They have distorted and misinterpreted news about organized labor and social legislation."

A Matter of \$5,000,000,000

In the first five years of its existence, the CIO has added at least \$5,000,000,000 to the pay envelopes of American workers. A large part of this came from US Steel, General Motors, big industries; a small part came from the newspaper publishers. The Newspaper Guild has 17,000 members. Every union contract has cost publishers more money. With only two or three exceptions, publishers have fought the Guild.

Sport and Flowers

AT the annual Sportsmen's Show held in New York recently, sportsmen were surprised to discover an exhibit of bombs. Last week at the Flower Show the featured attraction was an Anderson air-raid shelter, which many Englishmen have discovered is not a particularly safe place during an air raid.

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